5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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movements were more extravagant and exciting than those of the others; they were allowed, and did, break out of line for extra flourishes that took their fancy while still remaining true to the spirit of each type of dance. A notable feature of the dances is the identification with spirits and animals on the part of the dancers. Mistakes in drumming and dancing are thought very inauspicious for the well-being of the community. Although men and women do not dance as partners, the dances give men a chance to show off their attractions, while the women give signs to men who impress them.

3. *Economics*

Production. The Orokaiva work force involves, in some ways, everybody from the age he can walk almost until the day of death. The very young and the very old are expected to make whatever contribution they are capable of. The division of labour between the sexes has been the subject of enquiry by Williams, Waddell and Krinks. A sex basis in the division of labour is obvious in a great many activities, as the charts clearly show.[7] But even where activities are 'shared' between men and women, it is most common to see each sex group work at a different aspect of the task; they rarely do exactly the same job. Calculations by Waddell and Krinks show that the Orokaiva are fairly fully occupied in terms of the number of weekly working hours. Their calculations suggest that, given the present technology and social organisation, there is comparatively little slack in the working week that could be taken up by cash cropping activities on a major scale.

The working group is most frequently the household, occupied in the *pure*. Sometimes close relatives work together on larger tasks, helping each other in turn. Although old men do maintain their own gardens, they tend to receive frequent help from sons, sons-in-law and sometimes sisters' sons. Co-operation between men is also common during hunting and housebuilding. Co-operative groups of five or more men or women are also seen occasionally, e.g. for making roofing for a house, planting and harvesting yams. Co-operation of a total village is rare, but there are co-operative fishing and hunting expeditions. Activities related to feasting tend to be communal also.

Distribution. The Orokaiva have a subsistence economy where the bulk of goods produced are consumed by the household of the producer. Though patterns of exchange will take up a good part of the present work, it is necessary to state at the outset that only a small percentage of everyday produce enters the exchange system in any way. Waddell estimates that only 4.1 per cent of taro produced in Sivepe is disposed of by sale, gift exchange or barter. While the proportion is twice as high in Inonda, this is due to quite recent changes in the economic network in that area. One is bound to agree with Waddell that food exchanges, whatever their economic utility, are no great drain on Orokaiva resources. Of the produce entering the exchange network only a minute proportion leaves the village where it is grown. At a comparatively large feast I saw in Inonda in 1967, I estimated that Inonda was giving away, at the very utmost, 5 per cent of its annual production. As plantings are always made on a scale sufficient for survival *even if the harvest is poor*, there will be a surplus of at least 5 per cent after a good growing season. Unless the growing season is good,

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TABLE VIII/1

'ARECA' TRANSACTIONS: SIVEPE AND INONDA

The following figures group together transactions involving *areca* nuts and lime used for chewing with *areca*.

(*Source*: Waddell and Krinks, 1968: 180, 210, 218, 237, 265, 270, 272)

	Sivepe		*Inonda*	
	Acquired	*Disposed*	*Acquired*	*Disposed*
Total transactions (lbs.)	124	114	93	39
Distribution (%)				
within village	56%	44%	30%	57%
outside village	44%	56%	70%	43%
Non-monetary transactions (lbs.)	107	100	83?	38?
Monetary transactions (lbs.)	17	15	9.8	1.0
($)	3.70	3.00	2.06	0.20
Donors and recipients by sex: Men	52%	71%	42%	36%
Women	48%	29%	58%	64%

biochemical action differs from that of the coconut (narcotic rather than nutritive), so its symbolic significance in magic and ritual also differs. A girl carries a bunch of betelnut at the ceremony concluding her seclusion after first menstruation. She also has betelnut to offer to a man at lovers' meetings.

The only betelnut myth recorded by Williams (1928: 123) emphasises the nut's aphrodisiac associations. The betel palm had a liaison with a village woman. Every night it bent over her house to visit her; every morning, as the birds woke, it bent back to stand once more as an immobile palm but left around her house a litter of small flowers. When the intrigue was discovered, the jealous husband cut down the palm. The lover cried as he fell: 'Now I am a man no longer but a mere betel palm; take these nuts and eat them.' This myth resembles the one collected by myself in that the hero was a male, although the *areca* palm is classified by Orokaiva as a female plant. The explanation of this remarkable discrepancy will be one of the main tasks of the present chapter.

The symbolic significance of the betelnut is not, however, exhausted by its role as a catalyst in sexual love. One may call it, more properly, a catalyst in any kind of social exchange. As such, it helps to restore amity between former enemies. Its narcotic action raises the spirits of both opponents to the sphere of primal time when no strife existed. In sexual love, according to Orokaiva, feminine sexuality is dangerous, even lethal, to man in certain circumstances, a notion which is reflected in a number of avoidances woman must practice in order to avoid polluting and ritually killing a man. In courtship, the woman must take the initiative; the man is represented as slow and reluctant, precisely

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principally referring to classificatory systems built up from such metaphoric oppositions. When I use the term 'metaphoric gift', I mean a gift about which we are told in a story, the message of the story being that gift and recipient are metaphorically identical. The point of the story is to establish the symbiosis of men and women, the use of the metaphor. An example of such a story would be the gift of sacred emblems to the infant Dionysus in Orphic myth. This story tells us how Dionysus received certain gifts (cone, bullroarer, golden apples, mirror, knuckle-bone, tuft of wool) which de ined his nature. In the same way, in Orokaiva myth, men are given a coconut nature and women an areca nature.

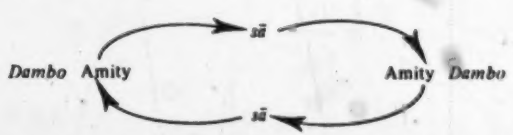
Orokaiva informants offer what they regard as empirical evidence for this. Coconut may be recognised as a man because the palm germinates slowly and the fruit comes to maturity slowly ('it comes slowly'). Likewise, so I was told, the male is slow to be sexually aroused and to desire women. *Areca* may be recognised as a girl because it germinates and comes to maturity quickly – the fruit matures faster than the coconut. Likewise woman is quick to be sexually aroused and to feel desire for a man. In this analogy the botanical facts are evident but the psychological generalisations describe no more, perhaps, than Orokaiva role expectations.

We may clarify the myth and its philosophical message to a certain extent by an analysis on the level of exchange cycles. The fundamental cycle is obviously the following:

MODEL 29

This is the model of sister exchange marriage where two men become brothers-in-law by each giving their sisters (*du*) to the other in marriage. If we now remember the identification between woman and betelnut (*sū*), and the social relationship which is considered normal between *dambo*, we may substitute as follows:

MODEL 30



We thus derive the rather interesting conclusion that the sense of an exchange of betelnut between men is that they are symbolically exchanging sisters. This is a rather bold conclusion which is best left as a speculation to be explored in later

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While metaphoric gifts do no more than mythically explain a code structure, metonymic gifts are those which mediate social relations between partners whose nature was established prior to the gift and whose nature is not changed essentially by the gift. In such a case it may be said that the donor "gives part of himself." Thus a girl, whose nature is that of areca, will give areca, and a man, whose nature is coconut, will give coconut. The metonymic gift is the basis of network structures. If the two partners in social exchange are of a different nature (in respect of the transaction in question), then each will use his own distinctive object of mediation as gift to the other. Girls give areca to men, but men give coconut to girls. (I am speaking now of a ritual, not an everyday context.) The simplest kind of network structure may therefore be represented by the following model: